

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STOCKH 02519 281435Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4134
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 2519

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM, PEPR, FI, SW
SUBJ: KEKKONEN PLAN: THE SWEDISH VIEW

REF: STOCKHOLM 2364, STOCKHOLM 1902, HELSINKI 1916

1. DURING CALL BY VISITING EUR/NE DIRECTOR ROBERT FUNSETH AND
EMB OFFS, MFA SECRETARY GENERAL LEIF LEIFLAND REVIEWED JUNE 22
CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN SWEDISH OFFICIALS AND FINNISH UNDER-SEC-
RETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS KEIJO KORHONEN REGARDING PRESIDENT
KEKKONEN'S PROPOSALS FOR A NORDIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE
(NNWFZ). KORHONEN HAS BEEN DISPATCHED ON A TOUR OF EUROPEAN
CAPITALS BY KEKKONEN TO DISCUSS THE PLAN.

2. KORHONEN MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SWEDES THAT THE GEOGRAPHIC
LIMITS FOR A NNWFZ WOULD BE RESTRICTED TO THE MAIN LAND AREAS
OF DENMARK, NORWAY, SWEDEN AND FINLAND. NEITHER THE BALTIC
NOR ADJOINING LAND AREAS OF NEIGHBORING STATES (INCLUDING THE
USSR) WOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY WAY NOR WOULD GREENLAND OR ICE-
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PAGE 02 STOCKH 02519 281435Z

LAND. LEIFLAND SAID THERE WERE SOME AREAS ON WHICH KORHONEN WAS
UNCLEAR INCLUDING SVALBARD AND BORNHOLM ISLAND. ALTHOUGH THE
THE SWEDES WERE COURTEOUS IN HEARING KORHONEN OUT, LEIFLAND SAID
THEY HAD MADE CLEAR TO KORHONEN THE TOTAL UNACCEPTABILITY OF A
PLAN BASED ON THESE GROGRAPHIC LIMITATIONS AND WHICH FAILED TO
TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINE PRESENCE IN THE
BALTIC. KORHONEN'S SCHEME WOULD EXCLUDE AT LEAST SOME TERRI-

TORIAL WATERS FROM THE NNWFZ NOTABLY THE STRAITS BETWEEN SWEDEN AND DENMARK. LEIFLAND FOUND THIS POINT PARTICULARLY UNACCEPTABLE AS IT WAS CLEARLY INTENDED TO EXEMPT SOVIET SUBMARINES.

3. LEIFLAND SAID HE INFORMED KORHONEN THAT THE SWEDES WOULD BE WILLING TO SIT DOWN WITH THE FINNS AND FELLOW NORDICS TO DISCUSS THE PLAN. HOWEVER, HE ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT THE SWEDES WOULD NOT TAKE ANY INITIATIVE TO ENCOURAGE THE DANES OR NORWEGIANS TO THE TABLE. IN ANY CASE, LEIFLAND SAID HE COULD NOT DETECT THE SLIGHTEST INTEREST IN OTHER NORDIC CAPITALS TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY SUCH DISCUSSION. REPORTS FILTERING BACK TO STOCKHOLM FROM SWEDISH EMBASSIES IN CAPITALS ALONG KORHONEN'S ROUTE INDICATE THAT KORHONEN WAS GIVEN THE QUICK BRUSHOFF WHEREVER HE RAISED THE ISSUE. SWEDEN WAS MORE PATIENT AND COURTEOUS IN ITS RESPONSE BUT THE SWEDISH POSITION WAS EQUALLY NEGATIVE.

4. LEIFLAND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE SWEDES ARE BAFFLED BY FINNISH MOTIVES ALTHOUGH THEY ARE CLEAR IN NOT ASCRIBING IT TO SOVIET PRIMING; INDEED THEY REGARD THE SOVIETS AS NOT OVERLY ENAMORED WITH THIS LATEST KEKKONEN INITIATIVE DESPITE GENERAL PUBLIC SUPPORT. LEIFLAND REJECTED THE THOUGHT THAT THE FINNISH INITIATIVE MIGHT BE A CLEVER SCHEME TO GAIN SOME CREDIT WITH THE SOVIETS FOR A PLAN INTENDED TO BE UNACCEPTABLE. HE SAID THE SWEDES WERE INFORMED ON GOOD AUTHORITY THAT THE FINNISH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STOCKH 02519 281435Z

PRIME MINISTER HAD NOT KNOWN OF THE PROPOSAL PRIOR TO KEKKONEN'S SPEECH. INDEED, THE SPEECH HAD BEEN WORKED OUT IN A VERY NARROW CIRCLE WITH KORHONEN THE PRINCIPAL DRAFTER ON THE PRESIDENT'S BEHALF.

5. COMMENT: THE SWEDISH REACTION INCLUDES OPPOSITION TO THE PLAN'S SUBSTANCE, SOME PIQUE OVER THE LACK OF PRIOR CONSULTATION AND MYSTIFICATION OVER FINNISH MOTIVES COUPLED WITH CONCERN FOR FINNISH SENSIBILITIES. WHILE THERE IS SOME TENDENCY TO SUGGEST THAT SOME COOL CALCULATION OF FINNISH INTEREST MUST BE PRESENT, THERE IS ALSO SOME SUSPICION THAT IT ONLY REFLECTS THE WELL-INTENTIONED BUT POORLY REASONED DESIRE OF AN ELDERLY STATESMAN TO LEAVE A FITTING CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN THE REGION.
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